

California Citrus Heritage  
Recording Project  
Riverside  
Riverside County  
California

HAER No. CA-118

HAER  
CAL  
33-RWSI,  
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PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

Historic American Engineering Record  
National Park Service  
U.S. Department of the Interior  
P.O. Box 37127  
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

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**HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD**  
**CALIFORNIA CITRUS HERITAGE RECORDING PROJECT**

**HAER No. CA-118**

**LOCATION**

The area of Riverside, Riverside County, California

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Riverside, California, continues to retain significant elements of the historic cultural landscape which developed in the region throughout the last 100 years. Founded on the production of citrus fruits, the area contributed to the rapid growth of California in the twentieth-century as a premier citrus producer. In addition, the world's first Citrus Experiment Station, now located at the University of California, Riverside, was initially sited in the city in 1906.

**RELATED DOCUMENTATION**

See the following HAER reports for more specific information regarding structures within Riverside, Riverside County, California:

HAER No. CA-119	Arlington Heights Citrus Landscape Computer Control No. CA1675
HAER No. CA-120	Gege Irrigation Canal Computer Control No. CA1676
HAER No. CA-121	National Orange Company Packing House Computer Control No. CA1677
HAER No. CA-122	Victoria Bridge Computer Control No. CA1678
HAER No. CA-123	Union Pacific Railroad Bridge Computer Control No. CA1679

**PROJECT INFORMATION**

This recording project is part of the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), a long-range program to document historically significant engineering and industrial works in the United States. The HAER program is administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. The California Citrus Recording Project was co-sponsored during the summer of 1991 by the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record under the general direction of Dr. Robert J. Kapsch, Chief; the City of Riverside, California, including the Departments of Development, Public Works, and Public Utilities; and by the California State Department of Parks and Recreation. Additional Assistance was provided by the John Mylne III family, the Thomas Mazzetti Family, the

Gage Canal Company, and the offices of Randolph Hlubik Associates, Inc. and Tilden-Coil Constructors, Inc.

The field work, measured drawings, historical reports, and photographs were prepared under the direction of Eric DeLony, Chief of HAER and Project Director. The recording team consisted of Denise Bradley (Landscape Architect), Project Supervisor; Theodore Sawruk (Assistant Professor of Architecture at Southern College of Technology, Marietta, Georgia), Architectural Supervisor; Christopher Foord (Ironbridge Institute, England/ICOMOS), and Kevin B. Hallaran (University of California, Riverside), Project Historians; Maria Julia de Keravenant (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina/ICOMOS) and Dale Waldron (Rhode Island School of Design), Architectural Delineators. Large-format contemporary photographs were completed by Brian Grogan, photocopies of historic photographs by Michael J. Elderman, Photoworks. The project was transmitted to the Library of Congress by Christine L. Madrid, HAER Historian, 1993.

With any endeavor the size and scope of the "California Citrus Heritage Recording Project," the results are a direct reflection of the knowledge, kindness, and generosity of many people. The recording team would like to use this space to thank and acknowledge those who have made this report possible.

First, we would like to thank the members of the John Mylne, III family (Terry, B. J., Victoria, and John) for allowing six of the team members to disrupt their lives by letting them move into their home for the summer of 1991. Additional thanks is owed them for giving access to family papers, personal knowledge, and for the use of a personal computer.

Office space for the architects was volunteered by Randolph Hlubik Associates, Inc. and Tilden-Coil Constructors, Inc. Their offices, the use of equipment, and staffs were all the more appreciated when the team members learned that another 1991 HAER team was having to "make do" with a garage in the middle of the Mojave Desert.

Vince Moses, Curator of History at the Riverside Municipal Museum, and the Historic Resources Department made space available for the team's two historians. Mr. Moses' generosity extended beyond the offering of a quiet place to work. His willingness to share a truly omniscient knowledge of all things relating to citrus and the city, as well as the museum's library and archival collections, was appreciated more than we can say. The project would have had a poorer result without his help and enthusiasm.

Thanks go to Professors Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell of the History Department, University of California, Riverside and the graduate student members of their Citrus Research Team who graciously opened their files and works in progress to us. Especially helpful was the running start we received on the National Orange Company packing house, the subject of a nearly completed research project by the History Department team. Access to a draft of the report and the pertinent files saved literally days, if not weeks, of duplicative research on our part, and allowed more time for other aspects of the recording project. Dr. Wetherell also took the risk of providing university library cards in his name to the members of the team. The History Department will soon begin publishing the results of their ongoing research in a series of monographs entitled "History of Citrus Working Papers," the first of which is scheduled to appear in 1991 and whose subject is the National Orange Company packing house.

The staffs of several libraries in the area were very helpful and we thank them: Ron Baker of the Local History Collection, Riverside City and County Public Library; Sidney Berger and Gladys Murphy of the Special Collections Department, Tomas Rivera Library, University of California, Riverside; and Larry

Burgess, Don McCue, and Christie Hammond of the Heritage Room, A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands, California.

Oral sources of information regarding various elements of the project were enormously helpful during the course of research. John Mylne, Jr., retired general manager and chief engineer of the Gage Canal Company was extremely helpful in explaining the technology of the canal and irrigation. John Hocking and Virginia Dew, and their staff, also of the Gage Canal Company, arranged tours of the canal property, and provided their own knowledge and opened the company's records for our research. Thomas and Barbara Mazzetti, owners, and Robert and Ray Renfro, former and present managers, respectively, of the National Orange Company packing house not only shared their personal knowledge, but permitted access to the company's records. Apart from that, they also allowed the team members to come and go into every nook and cranny of the packing house during business hours so that we could document the building's architectural and engineering features. Frank Thornton, retired engineer for Sunkist Growers, Inc. was in large part responsible for educating the team about citrus packing machinery and its evolution. His generosity in sharing his knowledge and his private collection of manufacturers' catalogues is much appreciated.

Lastly, we would like to thank Mayor Terry Frizzel and the members of the Riverside City Council for their warm welcome and hospitality throughout our stay in their city. Also, thanks to all of the city and county offices who unstintingly gave of their time, support, and knowledge. Most especially, we would like to thank Marion Mitchell-Wilson whose inspiration was responsible for bringing the team to Riverside in the first place, and who acted as liaison and go-between in all aspects of the project, from securing living and working spaces to coordinating the printing of this draft of the final report. We could not have done it without you Marion.

To be sure, there are those who have been neglected here, and for that we apologize. Be assured, though, that without the help of everyone whose paths we crossed during the course of our twelve weeks in Riverside, this project would not have been as successful, nor as enjoyable. Thank you all.

The HAER California Citrus Heritage Recording Team  
September 1991

## PREFACE

During the summer of 1991, a team of architects and historians of the National Park Service, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), spent twelve weeks identifying and documenting several significant historical features of the citrus cultural landscape of the City of Riverside, California. The project was generally entitled "The California Citrus Heritage Recording Project (HAER No. CA-118)." This type of "cultural landscape" documentation is the first of its kind for HAER, but will surely be extensively utilized in the future.

The landscape of Riverside, California bears the marks and impressions of over a hundred years of development of the citrus industry. Within fifteen years of its founding in 1870 the city had become nationally known as the home of the Washington Navel Orange, a reputation which would eventually spread around the globe. Today, numerous historic features of that landscape remain, and significant examples of it were the subject of the HAER inquiry.

The development of citrus in Riverside is closely tied to the availability of water, the area being located in the semi-arid desert region of Southern California. The first irrigation ditch was constructed by the

city's founders soon after arriving in 1870. However, the Gage Irrigation Canal (HAER No. CA-120), built between 1885 and 1888 and supplied initially by water from the Santa Ana River and artesian (later pumped) water from bored wells, had the greatest impact on the landscape. Stretching for over twenty miles from the Santa Ana River near San Bernardino to its terminus in Arlington Heights, the canal virtually doubled the citrus producing area of the city.

The Arlington Heights Citrus Landscape (HAER No. CA-119) is today the largest remaining citrus producing area of the city. This area was developed into ten acre groves by the Riverside Trust Company, Ltd.; development made possible by Gage irrigation water.

The National Orange Company Packing House (HAER No. CA-121) was originally built for the fruit packing and shipping firm of Anderson, Wotten, and Godfrey in 1898. In 1903 the packing house became the property of the Rubidoux Fruit Company. Under their management the first addition was added in 1905-06. The packing house was again sold to the National Orange Company in 1907, a name retained by the packing house despite subsequent changes in ownership. In 1927-28 further expansion of the building was required as developments in packing technology and production demanded greater and greater space. Today the packing house still uses machinery developed and built in Riverside dating from the 1920s and 1930s. The National Orange Packing Company building is the oldest continuously operating packing house in the city.

The contents of this report include a brief introduction to the history of citrus in the Riverside area followed by historical and technological discussions of the cultural landscape of the Arlington Heights section of the city; the Gage Irrigation Canal; and the National Orange Company packing house. Architectural drawings, maps, and photographs of the above may be found under the individual HAER numbers.

Aside from these elements of the citrus cultural landscape, the recording team was also able to briefly document two historic bridges in the city. These were the Victoria Bridge (HAER No. CA-122), an extension of Victoria Avenue, and the Union Pacific Railroad Bridge (HAER No. CA-123), at one time the world's longest concrete span. These were recorded separately and are filed under separate cover.

## HISTORY

The City of Riverside, County of Riverside, California, the birthplace of the navel orange industry in the state, is located approximately 60 miles east of Los Angeles in the San Bernardino Valley. The importance of citrus to the city's development, as well as to the development of the state, has long been recognized. Relevant historiography dates as far back as 1883, a mere thirteen years after the city's founding, with the publication of Wallace W. Elliott's History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties. (Riverside County was formed in 1893 out of portions of San Bernardino and San Diego counties.) Later, in 1922, John Brown, Jr. and James Boyd, both sons of prominent pioneers of the region, published their three-volume History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties. The first two volumes dealt with each of the counties respectively, with James Boyd writing the Riverside volume; the third volume contained biographical entries of prominent residents of both counties. Brown and Boyd were followed in 1935 by John Raymond Gabbert's History of Riverside City and County. Elliott's volume was written too early to assess the impact that citrus production would later have on the city, but Boyd's volume and the Gabbert study both offered substantial discussions of citrus.

The best general, though sometimes controversial, overview of Southern California as a region is still Cerey McWilliams' Southern California: An Island on the Land, first published in 1946.<sup>1</sup> More recent

scholarship includes A Colony for California by Tom Patterson, local Riverside journalist and author, which is a comprehensive history of the city from its early beginnings as a Mexican land grant rancho to its emergence as a full-blown metropolitan center in the 1960s, and Kevin Starr's three volume cultural history of California. More specific to the study of citrus are The Citrus Industry, a five volume scientifically oriented treatise on all things pertaining to citrus, including history, edited by Walter Reuther, E. Clair Calavan, and Glenn E. Carmen, and A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area, a slim but informative volume of collected essays edited by Esther H. Klotz, Harry W. Lawton, and Joan H. Hall.<sup>2</sup> Of the periodical literature, the "California Citrograph" is the most valuable.

The recorded history of the area around Riverside, California, stretches back over two centuries. The first recorded European to have entered the present boundaries of Riverside County was Spanish Captain Pedro Fages in 1772. Fages, who had been second in command to Gaspar de Portola on the first land expedition to Alta California three years before, traversed a large portion of the county while pursuing deserters from the presidio at San Diego. During a chase that led from San Diego to the Imperial Valley, west into the San Jacinto Valley, north through Cajon Pass, and eventually into the San Joaquin Valley, Fages also crossed the area in and around the current city of Riverside.<sup>3</sup>

The next entry into the Riverside area took place two years later in 1774 when Captain Juan Bautista de Anza and a small party of soldiers traversed the site of the future city on its way from Tubac [Arizona] to the Pacific, thereby establishing for the first time an inland route between Mexico and California.<sup>4</sup> The party entered the area from Moreno Valley via Sycamore Canyon, then descended Tequesquite Arroyo on its way to the Santa Ana River.<sup>5</sup> In his attempt to cross, Anza found the river "to be almost unfordable," attesting to the rather formidable flow of the river in historic times.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, a crossing was made at or near the present site of Martha McLean-Anza Narrows Park. The site is marked by California Historical Landmark Marker No. 787.

In 1775-76, Anza again passed through the area, essentially tracing his original steps, but this time with a party of pioneers numbering 240 men, women, and children from Sonora, Mexico. Their purpose was to found a northern pueblo that would act as a barrier to Russian infiltration of Spanish California. This pueblo eventually became the city of San Francisco.<sup>7</sup>

During the period of mission dominance in California, the area around Riverside was under the jurisdiction of Mission San Gabriel near Los Angeles. According to Hugo Reid, an early Scottish immigrant to California, the area known as Jurupa (which includes much of present-day Riverside) had been one of the mission's most productive cattle ranches.<sup>8</sup> When secularization of the missions was ordered by the Mexican government in 1834, their vast holdings in land were thrown open to the settlement of pioneers. This was accomplished mainly through land grants to individual citizens by the governor.

Thus, in September 1838 the Rancho Jurupa grant was made to Juan Bandini by Governor Juan B. Alvarado. The grant, which included approximately 31,000 acres, was approved on May 22, 1840, and in 1879 the grant was again approved by the United States Land Commission.<sup>9</sup>

Bandini, a Peruvian native, had emigrated to California with his father in about 1820. At that time he was approximately 20 years old. Politically active all of his life, he served terms in the territorial assembly, the Mexican Congress, and also as customs inspector, secretary to Governor Pico, and commissioner of revenue for San Diego. After secularization of the missions he was appointed administrator of Mission San Gabriel by Governor Alvarado. He died in Los Angeles in 1859.<sup>10</sup>

In May 1843 Bandini sold approximately 1 1/2 square leagues of the original Rancho Jurupa grant to Benjamin [Benito] Wilson for \$1,000. A year later, Wilson sold the property to Isaac Williams, master of Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, and James Johnson.<sup>11</sup> Williams and Johnson sold the property in December 1849. The buyer, Louis Robidoux, had been buying small parcels of the Jurupa since 1844. By 1850 he had accumulated 6,700 acres that eventually became known as the Robidoux Rancho. Robidoux (generally spelled "Rubidoux" in the Riverside area), a member of the famous fur trading family of St. Louis, remained on the land until his death in 1868.<sup>12</sup>

Prior to the transactions of Wilson, Williams, and Robidoux, and only one year after Juan Bandini received the original Jurupa Grant, Bandini sold the major portion of the grant to his son-in-law, Abel Stearns, for \$7,500. The deed to the property, however, was not filed until August 23, 1859.<sup>13</sup>

Stearns, born in Lunenburg, Massachusetts in 1798, migrated to Mexico in 1826. He became a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1828 and migrated again the following year to Monterey, California. By 1833 he had settled in Los Angeles where he was a trader and merchant. Eventually, he became one of the largest land owners and cattle ranchers in California, accumulating the Los Alamitos, Las Bolas, La Laguna, Los Coyotes, and Jurupa Ranchos on which he branded as many 20,000 calves per year.<sup>14</sup> After the Mexican War he was active in state and local politics, serving as a delegate to the first state constitutional convention, as well as Los Angeles County assemblyman and supervisor, and Los Angeles city councilman.

Stearns was among the hardest hit by the drought of 1863-65, losing, according to one estimate, as many as 100,000 head of cattle to starvation. Possibly as many as 1,000,000 were lost statewide during the same period.<sup>15</sup>

Financially, Stearns was on the verge of bankruptcy for several years after the drought. Together with business associate and friend, Alfred Robinson, and others, Stearns formed a real estate sales partnership that became known as the Robinson Trust in 1868. He turned over all but one of his ranchos in San Bernardino and Los Angeles Counties to the Trust.<sup>16</sup> These lands, totaling nearly 178,000 acres, were then subdivided by the trust to be sold as small farms and ranches. Despite considerable friction between Stearns and the other members of the trust, the trust nevertheless succeeded. By 1870 Stearns was out from under the monstrous debts incurred by the drought of the '60s and was on his way to accumulating yet another fortune. But, before he could realize that fortune, he died while visiting San Francisco on August 23, 1871.<sup>17</sup> Stearns' ownership of the Rancho Jurupa was not confirmed by the United States Land Commission until 1879, eight years after his death.<sup>18</sup>

In 1860, Frenchman Louis Prevost (or Provost) introduced into California the idea of creating a "silk culture." Over the next nine years the idea took hold and was heavily promoted throughout the United

States and Europe. The California legislature became so enamored of the scheme as to offer a \$250 incentive to any grower who produced mulberry trees on a commercial scale.<sup>19</sup>

On June 17, 1869, ten Los Angeles and San Bernardino county residents including Thomas W. Cover, Thomas A. Garey, and Moses Martin organized under the name of the "Silk City Land Association" and applied for certain Santa Ana River water rights. Within the following month the Association had filed claims on land amounting to 4,000 acres in what is now the City of Riverside. On November 19 the Association filed its articles of incorporation with the state under the name "California Silk Center Association."<sup>20</sup>

One month later, ostensibly on behalf of the Association, Thomas Cover purchased 2,600 acres of the Robidoux Rancho from Louis' heirs. The following April the Association purchased another 3,100 acres from the trustees (Robinson Trust) of Abel Stearns' portion of the Rancho Jurupa. These last two purchases gave the California Silk Center Association control of approximately 10,000 acres.<sup>21</sup>

But, within days of the association's acquisition of the Stearns property, Louis Prevost, in whom rested the knowledge necessary to make silk production profitable, died. Coupled with the state legislature's withdrawal of financial incentives for commercial mulberry production, the association found itself unable to proceed with its original plans. Scrambling to recoup some of their investment and unload the real estate holdings, Thomas Cover contacted a group of newly arrived eastern gentlemen visiting Los Angeles for the purpose of buying land for a colony experiment.<sup>22</sup>

The men Cover approached were John W. North, Drs. James P. Greves and K. D. Shugart, E. G. Brown, and A. J. Twogood. After inspecting the Silk Association's real estate property the group officially incorporated on September 12, 1870 as the "Southern California Colony Association of Jurupa." Three days later 4/7 of the California Silk Center Association's land plus Cover's lands on the Robidoux Rancho were purchased by North and his associates.<sup>23</sup>

Judge John W. North, to whom credit for founding the City of Riverside is given, had studied to be a Methodist minister as a young man. Later he became a lawyer and went on to help found the University of Minnesota and the town of Northfield, Minnesota. In 1860 he was appointed to the Minnesota delegation of the Republican Party Convention where he met Abraham Lincoln for the first time; his own ardent abolitionist leanings led him to a close friendship with Lincoln. Lincoln later appointed North, first, Surveyor-General of Nevada Territory, and then Chief Justice of the Nevada Territorial Supreme Court. He is also thought to have written Nevada's first constitution while sitting as President of the Constitutional Convention. After the Civil War, North moved to Knoxville, Tennessee where, occasionally described as a "carpetbagger," he opened an iron foundry mainly as a way of offering employment to newly emancipated slaves.<sup>24</sup>

North's welcome in Knoxville apparently ended rather abruptly when he intervened in and stopped the lynching of a black man. So, with the aid of Dr. James P. Greves, North formulated his California colonization plans. Advertising broadsides announcing the venture and inviting subscribers were sent to several states, saying:

Appreciating the advantages of associated settlement, we aim to secure 100 good families, who can invest \$1000 each, in the purchase of land, while at the same time we invite all good, industrious people to join us. We do not expect to buy as much land for the same money, in Southern California, as we could obtain in the remote parts of Colorado or Wyoming; but we expect it will be worth more, in proportion to cost, than any other land we could purchase in the United States . . . Experience in the West has demonstrated that \$100, invested in a colony, is worth \$1,000 in an isolated locality. We wish to form a colony of intelligent, industrious and enterprising people, so that each one's industry will help to promote his neighbor's interests, as well as his own . . . We expect to have Schools, Churches, Lyceum, Public Library, Reading Room, etc. at a very early day, and we invite such people to join us as will esteem it a privilege to build them . . . Each subscriber will be allowed to purchase 160 acres of farming land and two Town lots--or a less amount if desired. It is expected that every subscriber will reside upon and improve his property, within one year of the time of subscribing, otherwise he will lose his rights as a member of the colony . . .<sup>25</sup>



The Southern California Colony Association's board of trustees held its first meeting on December 18, 1870, at which time the majority voted to change the name of the community from Jurupa to Riverside.<sup>26</sup>

In April 1875 the Riverside Land and Irrigating Company was formed under the direction of Samuel Cary Evans, a banker from Indiana who had arrived in California the previous year. By May, the company had gained a majority share of stock in the Southern California Colony Association together with all of its property and franchises.<sup>27</sup> Virtually all of the lands purchased by the company are now within the limits of the present City of Riverside.

The introduction of citrus fruits into California occurred possibly as early as the founding of the first Franciscan mission, San Diego de Alcalá, in 1769.<sup>28</sup> More regionally, oranges were introduced at Mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles around 1804. There, a six-acre grove of oranges was tended by padres and Native American neophytes until sometime after secularization. The abandoned grove eventually provided the stock for several future Los Angeles area growers. Louis Vignes, pioneer California viticulturist, retrieved 35 of the mission trees in 1834. In 1841, a Kentucky-born former fur trader, William Wolfskill, removed seedlings from the San Gabriel grove and became the first to attempt citrus growing on a commercial scale. Wolfskill planted nearly 28 acres on his rancho near Los Angeles; by 1862, his orchards had expanded to include 28,000 trees, and in 1870 were estimated to be earning approximately \$1,000 per acre. In 1877, with the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad, Wolfskill became the first to ship a rail car full of citrus to the east.<sup>29</sup>

Others followed Wolfskill's example. About 1857, the first grove in the San Bernardino County (which then included Riverside) was planted by Anson Van Leuven at Old San Bernardino in the Mission District of the present city of Redlands. L. F. Cram may have planted 200 seedlings in the East Highlands area in the same year. Riverside's first citrus trees were planted in 1871 by Dr. K. D. Shugart with seedlings obtained from L. C. Waite. These seedlings were purchased from a nursery in Los Angeles and were probably of varieties originating in Hawaii, Tahiti, or Mexico, as were most of the seedlings planted in the area during the 1870s.<sup>30</sup>

Credit for the introduction to Riverside of the Washington navel orange, a large, sweet, seedless variety of citrus with the telltale dimple opposite the stem, is still debated among historians. The current consensus has given it to Mrs. Eliza Tibbets rather than to her husband, Luther. In 1873, 1874, or 1875 (the date, too, is still debated), Mrs. Tibbets, a rather dowdy and eccentric matron who communicated regularly with spirits and cultivated a perceived resemblance to Britain's Queen Victoria, planted two or three seedlings of a newly imported Brazilian citrus variety, the Bahia Navel Orange. Twelve of these seedlings had arrived at the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D. C. in 1873, thus giving rise to the fruit's name being changed to the Washington Navel.

Not until 1878 did the Tibbets' trees bear any fruit and the local reaction to their quality was so great that the trees were soon used mainly for supplying buds rather than fruit. During the next few decades virtually all of thousands of acres of navel orange trees grown around the city were budded from these original three. Since that time, two of the trees have died; one still lives, nurtured and cared for like an aging grandparent. Indeed, in 1940, Dr. H. J. Webber, Director of the Citrus Experiment Station in Riverside, estimated that this surviving "parent navel orange tree" was responsible for over 9,000,000 descendants. Today it is commemorated as a California State Historic Landmark at the intersection of Magnolia and Arlington Avenues.<sup>31</sup>

The new found industry grew steadily through the 1870s and 1880s. Whereas there had been only about 25,000 citrus trees in California in 1862, by 1882 there were nearly 500,000; and half of those

were growing in Riverside. By about 1880 the city had approximately 6,000 acres planted in citrus, mostly in navel oranges. And, by the end of the decade, thanks to water provided by the Gage Irrigation Canal, the figure had grown to nearly 12,000 acres.

Until 1877, citrus had to be transported via coastal steamers out of San Pedro and Los Angeles harbors; the only true market for the fruit was San Francisco. The markets to the east were opened up with the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad through the central valley to Los Angeles in 1877. Southern Pacific did not connect a southern route to the east until 1883. In 1886, the first freight train loaded exclusively with oranges left Los Angeles for the east. Later, the advent of the ventilated box car in 1887, and the refrigerated box car in 1889, made feasible the opening of the European market; in 1892 the first five box cars left for New York with an eventual destination of London and Liverpool.<sup>32</sup>

The completion of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1885 prompted competition with the Southern Pacific. The competition precipitated a land boom in southern California, during the height of which the railroads entered into a price war that reached its climax on March 3, 1887. By noon of that day, after a series of price cuts on passenger fares during the morning hours, the two railroad companies had dropped the price of a ticket from the Missouri Valley to California to \$1.00.<sup>33</sup>

Rampant speculation and misleading advertising were the order of the day. Carey McWilliams wrote of an atmosphere of greed where ministers hustled newcomers aside after Sunday services in order to sell real estate and where oranges were impaled on desert Joshua Trees whose habitat was then promoted as the only area in the state where the orange was indigenous.<sup>34</sup> When the boom finally collapsed by the end of the 1880s, Riverside emerged fairly unscathed. The town's attraction had always been founded on oranges and their promise of wealth. Other towns had suffered when their agricultural wealth--oranges, vineyards and farmlands--was prematurely torn out or plowed under in order to cash in on the profits offered by subdividing. Instead they ended up with thousands of barren acres planted in surveyor's stakes.

People continued to come to Riverside throughout the 1890s and into the twentieth century, lured by the "golden apples of the Hesperides." Improved and expanded water systems, like the Gage Canal, had more than doubled the citrus growing capabilities of the region so that by 1929 there were more than 16,000 acres under cultivation. But, those who came were not the typical yeoman or subsistence farmer that had populated the Great Plains only a few years before. In fact, the expenses involved in establishing a productive grove would have been prohibitive to such a farmer. Large amounts of capital were a prerequisite: money for land; money for seedling stock; money for irrigation water; and money to live on while waiting the two to five years for the trees to fruit. So, it was not surprising that contemporaries saw that "one noteworthy factor of the incoming population is that it is made up almost entirely of the well-to-do--those who bring intelligence and money with them, and are prepared to improve their lands at once"<sup>35</sup> and that "among all horticultural industries . . . [citrus culture] is peculiar in that the people who have built it up have been, in many cases, retired business men or professional men . . ."<sup>36</sup> Several who will be discussed later in this document were of this group: Charles F. Anderson, a successful merchant from New York; R. W. A. Godfrey, a former London Banker; and William Irving, an architect and engineer from Canada. Charles Fletcher Lummis characterized this flood of middle-class emigrants into Southern California as:

the least heroic immigration in history, but the most judicious . . . In fact, they were by and large by far the most comfortable immigrants, financially, in history . . . Instead of by Shank's Mare, or prairie schooner, or reeking steerage, they came on palatial

treins; instead of cabins, they put up beautiful homes; instead of gophering for gold, they planted gold--and it came up in ten-fold harvests.<sup>37</sup>

That most of them were ignorant of the methods of farming was a blessing in disguise, for their ignorance predisposed them to a willingness to experiment in order to find solutions to problems. And, when solutions were not forthcoming they relied on science to find them. Thus, at the urging of local growers, Riverside became the site, in 1906, of the world's first Citrus Experiment Station, operated by the University of California. The original site was at the foot of Mt. Rubidoux, the city's predominant topographic feature; it was moved in 1917 to larger quarters on what is now the campus of the University of California, Riverside.<sup>38</sup> The buildings there, though no longer used by the experiment station, have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The business acumen of these "captains of industry" turned "captains of citrus" probably made inevitable the formation of the citrus cooperative marketing organizations. By the early 1870s the local markets were no longer able to absorb the increasing production. Up to that time, growers had negotiated individually for the sale of crops, with the buyers providing the distribution and marketing, as well as providing labor for the picking and packing of the fruit. The buyer, after inspecting a grove and estimating the quantity of fruit, would bid a lump sum for its purchase. From the groves fruit was generally hauled by wagon to Los Angeles from where it would be shipped by sail or steam boat to San Francisco.<sup>39</sup>

The purchase of the yields of entire groves in one lump sum proved inefficient and costly to both buyer and seller. It eventually evolved into a process where the fruit was purchased at an agreed upon price per box of packed fruit, the buyer still providing picking, packing, and transportation services. This too, proved inefficient. In 1925, southland grower William Russell, wrote that the system allowed the buyer:

to reject any amount they wished as they were the judges as to what was merchantable. I remember one year in the late eighties I sold my crop to \_\_\_\_\_. He was to pay me one and three-quarters cents per pound, delivered to his packing house. After delivering three of four loads I asked to be shown how they had graded out and found they had thrown out fifty per cent as unmerchantable--no frost. I insisted that I be allowed to take my discarded oranges home--hired a small grader, engaged a good packer. I graded the fruit and nailed the boxes myself and shipped them local freight . . . to San Francisco and got a better net price for the discarded oranges than [the buyer] paid me.<sup>40</sup>

Other systems were tried, but the recurring problems in marketing hindered profits; during any one season, there were markets that were simultaneously either glutted with too much fruit, or under-supplied with too little.<sup>41</sup> Then, in 1891, buyers in masse refused to buy fruit f.o.b. and would only ship on consignment basis. Growers were forced to assume the risks and underwrite the losses. T. H. B. Chamblin, who founded the first fruit growers' cooperative, said of the time, "The old-line packers and shippers, having found the growers in a helpless condition by reason of increased output and lack of independent means of marketing, had deliberately, and for personal gain, almost wholly abandoned the buying system and had substituted therefor commission methods."<sup>42</sup>

It was during the 1892-93 season that industry-wide bankruptcy threatened. Chamblin and ten other Riverside growers had formed the first cooperative, the Pachappa Orange Growers Association, in 1888, to share expenses and market their own fruit. Other communities had followed suit. In April 1893, approximately 100 growers gathered in Los Angeles to listen to Chamblin's "gospel of cooperative marketing." The growers approved and by October had formed the Southern California

Fruit Exchange. This eventually became the giant Sunkist Growers, Inc., with over 200 local packing associations and 25 district exchanges.<sup>43</sup> Sunkist came to dominate all phases of citrus production in California, not just through marketing, but also through production of citrus by-products, timber production for box fabrication, insect and frost control, coordination of labor and equipment, packing, and other services.<sup>44</sup> A grove owner might never have to set foot in his own orchards, but could instead contract with a local Sunkist exchange to look after every aspect of production.

Of course, production of any kind would have been impossible without a labor force. Since the very beginnings of citriculture in Southern California ethnics and foreigners had been utilized as laborers; laborers who, in fact, were more responsible than anyone for the industry's phenomenal growth and continued prosperity. These people were diverse, and as one would fade from the scene, others would follow. Always there was some overlapping as one group supplanted another, and occasionally there was accompanying friction between cultures. Their usage was the result of hard economic rules which the growers readily embraced; ethnics and foreigners were more easily obtained, willing to work longer hours for lesser wages, and were not as likely to complain about poor living conditions as were their white competitors.<sup>45</sup>

During the formative years of the industry, labor had mainly been supplied by the local area's Native American population, mainly Cahuilla. The Cahuilla, probably too few in number by the 1880s were replaced by Chinese immigrants.

Within a short time the Chinese became the major source of labor and were used in several aspects of the industry throughout the 1880s: as pickers, packers, irrigators, etc. As packers, one packing house manager "was much impressed, especially by the dexterous manner in which the fruit was wrapped in paper and placed in the boxes by these Chinese..."<sup>46</sup> Their attraction, from the grower's standpoint, was predictable; they worked well and hard for low wages, and they seldom complained.

Despite the pleas of citrus ranchers and other farmers in whose best interest it was to keep this cheap labor supply available, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 nevertheless became federal law on May 6. The act prohibited Chinese immigration for a period of ten years. Upon its expiration, the Geary Act of 1892 extended the prohibition for an additional ten years, and then in 1902, the exclusion of Chinese became permanent.<sup>47</sup>

As the Chinese declined as a source of labor, the Southern California citrus producers increasingly turned to Japanese immigrants as a substitute. As near as can be told, their introduction into the ranks of citrus laborers began in the early 1890s, mainly as migrant pickers and packing house workers. In October 1891 approximately fifteen Japanese followed the railroad tracks from Fresno to Riverside seeking work. And for about sixteen years after that a similar group lived seasonally under the eucalyptus trees near the intersection of Adams and Magnolia Avenues in Riverside. This little tent community was known to its residents as "Gum Tree."<sup>48</sup> By 1900 there were nearly 3000 Japanese laborers employed in the citrus industry in Riverside alone, and while at that time they were mainly

transients, evidence suggests that within the following decade at least 400 of them became well entrenched as permanent fixtures in the community.<sup>49</sup>

Recruitment of laborers was usually handed over to Japanese contractors. The Yamato Company and the Shigejiro Hoshizaki, both grocery stores, did much of the recruiting in the Riverside area in the early 1900s. Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko, Riverside's premier Japanese resident, also served as a contractor, as well as the operator of the labor camp at Prenda Packing House (in Arlington Heights).<sup>50</sup> With the

forming of the Californie Fruit Growers Exchange, virtually every aspect of the laborers' lives fell under the control of the coops--housing, food, equipment, transportation, wages, even family life.

Gradually, as the Chinese had before them and for many of the same reasons, the Japanese drifted out of the citrus labor market. The same anti-Japanese sentiment that had driven so many of them out of Northern California began to rear its head in the south. Some Japanese left the laboring class to begin their own orchards and thereby became competitors with their former employers. And many of those who stayed behind to work the orchards eventually recognized their worth and began to demand higher wages. By 1910, grove owners and the associations were looking elsewhere for cheap labor, although Japanese labor remained vital to the industry for at least two more decades.<sup>61</sup>

Over the next few decades other ethnic minorities were utilized as laborers in the groves and packing houses. Koreans, East Indians, American and Jamaican Blacks, even Italian prisoners of war during World War II were all used to some extent.

Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals have always made up a part of the citrus labor force in Southern California. But, it was not until after 1914 that they became the dominant source. By 1919 they represented about 30% of the work force in the orchards and by the mid-1940s they constituted two-thirds.<sup>62</sup> They continue to be the major source of labor in the groves and packing houses.

Migrant agricultural laborer has historically been the mainstay of production throughout California. Constant movement with the seasons from the north to the south and back again as crops ripened and were harvested was the basic existence of the migrant worker. Those groups that elected to give up the transient life settled into their own communities; Riverside, San Bernardino, Redlands, and others all had ethnic concentrations founded on labor within their city limits. All had their Chinatowns (at one point, Riverside boasted two). Riverside's Japanese concentrated at various times within the "Mile Square," Casa Blanca, and near Van Buren Avenue, most within close proximity to the groves and packing houses.<sup>63</sup> And, its large Hispanic population remains, for the most part, in Casa Blanca. Other groups likewise tended to concentrate.

The citrus industry, as it matured and grew to what was essentially a year-round business operated by the cooperatives and exchanges, soon realized that in order to insure a continuous and reliable work force it was in their best interests to provide attractive housing; to keep an experienced, reliable work force like the residents of Gum Tree, they would have to provide an incentive to get them out of their tents and off the road to Fresno. This change in attitude began to occur in the 1910s.

Charles C. Teague of the Limoniera Ranch near Santa Paula explained in his autobiography that "the continuity of employment in the citrus business and the fact that 85 per cent of the fruit is harvested, packed, and marketed through cooperatives has made it possible to provide a higher type of housing than can be afforded for the migratory laborers."<sup>64</sup> Single men were generally housed in dormitory-style dwellings with no more than two to a room, while married men were given access to single family dwellings or duplexes in the "California" style. The family dwellings were built in answer to the increasing prevalence of married men seeking agricultural work over single men in the late 1910s.<sup>65</sup>

Several labor camps were situated in the Riverside area, at least four of which were located in the Arlington Heights vicinity. All have been demolished, mainly to make room for development. Balmoral Camp at the southeast corner of Victoria Avenue and McAllister was subdivided by the Riverside Trust Company. Martinez Camp for a time housed 450 Mexican and Japanese workers around 1917.<sup>66</sup> It was located within the block bordered by Cleveland, Irving, Victoria, and Jackson Streets. Osborne

Camp, was located at Grace Street between Dufferin and Gratton. Windsor Camp was at the southeast corner of Gratton and Dufferin.

The camps, like most of the groves they serviced are now gone: both victims of the urban development that ran virtually unchecked in the years after World War II. The completion of California Highways 91 (the Riverside Freeway) and 60 (the Pomona Freeway) during the late-1960s and early 1970s had the same effect on the area as had the completions of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads nearly a century before. The highways placed Riverside within commuting distance of the more metropolitan Los Angeles area and another land boom was created. Real estate prices grew but remained lower than in Los Angeles, and rather than retain the pastoral qualities that had been the hallmark of the city, many growers found their property held more value as subdivisions than as orange groves. Thousands of acres of groves have been removed to make way for homes, condominiums, and mini-malls in the past 40 years.

Most of the groves remaining within the city limits of Riverside are confined to about 5,000 acres in the historic Arlington Heights area. Recent greenbelt initiatives have sought to preserve those few from development, and portions of the Arlington Heights area have been purchased or leased for interpretive use in the Citrus State Historic Park by the California State Department of Parks and Recreation.

## CONCLUSION

The 1991 Historic American Engineering Record "Citrus Heritage Recording Project (HAER No. 118)" has documented several significant historic features in the City of Riverside associated with the city's cultural landscape. This landscape was founded on the production of citrus fruits: primarily, the Washington navel orange. Riverside is lucky, especially in an era when southern California has become the most densely populated region of the nation, to still retain these significant reminders of her rural beginnings.

Virtually all of the features recorded herein are eligible under various criteria for placement on the National Register of Historic Places. The Gage Canal, though not a marvel of nineteenth-century engineering in a technical sense, nevertheless holds great significance. At the time of its construction, it was probably the most ambitious irrigation project ever undertaken in California, and was probably not bested until the completion of the much grander-scaled Owens Valley-Los Angeles Aquaduct in 1913. The creation of the Gage Canal helped to build California's, and most especially, Riverside's reputation as the premier navel orange growing region in the world by opening up formerly desert wasteland to irrigation, and thereby doubling the amount of acreage available for groves. The canal also provided the impetus for English investment and migration to the city, leading to the dubbing of Riverside as the "English Colony." The descendants of these "colonists" still make up a vital part of the city's population. And now, over a hundred years after the first water was carried down its 21 mile incline, the canal provides water to groves it gave birth to, while at the same time providing potable water for the city's burgeoning population.

The Gage Canal made possible the region known as Arlington Heights. Arlington Heights is the city's last vestige of the once immense citrus grove landscape. Victoria Avenue, probably the most prominent feature of this landscape, has long been recognized and appreciated as one of the city's most pleasing visual treasures, and the architecture of the Heights runs the gamut from the elaborateness of Raeburn to the humbleness of a laborer's cottage, and from the carriage house to the tool shed. With only a modicum of imagination the traveller along the eight mile palm- and pepper-lined

length of Victoria Avenue can conjure up by-gone images as if seen from an open horse-drawn carriage: panoramic vistas of the groves with the valley and mountains beyond; the black-green shade of thousands of orange trees arranged neatly in ten-acre groves; the fragrance of millions of blossoms and the hum and buzz of equal numbers of bees. Happily, these images are just as attainable today, whether from a car window, or a bicycle, or on foot. The ambience of Arlington Heights, though somewhat diminished in quantity by its development over the years, still retains an unsurpassed quality.

The National Orange Company Packing House is a living example of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century citrus packing at a time when other packing houses have joined the age of computerization. Indeed, short of having interpretive labels and guided tours, it qualifies as a living museum with its nineteenth-century frontier-style false front wood construction and its 1920s and 1930s vintage machinery. The packing house's age coupled with the distinction of its having been operated continuously since 1898 alone qualify it for National Register status.

In recent years, the City of Riverside has taken steps to see that elements of its citrus heritage are preserved for future generations. The care which has been lavished on the surviving Parent Navel Orange Tree, the placement of the Citrus Experiment Station buildings on the campus of the University of California on the National Register, the greenbelt preservation issues, and the struggle to make Riverside the home of the Citrus State Historic Park, all declare and testify to the city's commitment to preserving its agricultural and historical heritage. However, much work still needs to be done. The 1991 HAER recording project, working within a limited amount of time, only scraped the surface. The major features covered in the foregoing report are only three of numerous important elements of the overall citrus landscape included in the city. The Arlington Heights area alone is a storehouse of information waiting to be opened. A large-scale cultural resource survey of Arlington Heights to identify more of its significant features would further add to the city's knowledge of its origins.

Still other citrus related historic features remain within the city, begging for documentation, but hidden behind newer and more obvious modern development. The California Iron Works building, near the present Birtcher "Market Place" development, for example, was the site where Riverside's world leadership in the design, development, and manufacture of citrus machinery was born. This structure would lend itself to HAER or HAER-level documentation in the future. Just off of Park Avenue, near 14th Street, were several small citrus laborers' cottages, remnants of Riverside's early "Korea Town." Similar structures can be found on McAllister Street, near Victoria. Numerous citrus labor camps where workers were housed dormitory-style were scattered all around the greater-Riverside area. Though the structures themselves may be gone, many of the sites are vacant and might yield important information through historical archaeology, a method familiar to the people of Riverside through the success of Chinatown excavations in the mid-1980s. These are only a few of the possible avenues future research might take in the documentation of Riverside's citrus heritage.

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5. Ibid, p. 4; Jane Davies Gunther Riverside County, California, Place Names, (Riverside, CA: Published by the author, 1984), p. 538
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10. Henry D. Barrows, "Juan Bandini," Historical Society of Southern California 4(3)(1899), pp. 243, 244.
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23. Elliott, History, p. 131; Gunther, Place Names, pp. 94, 507.
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30. Lawton, "Brief History," pp. 8, 9.
31. Esther H. Klotz, "Eliza Tibbets and Her Washington Navel Orange Trees," in A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area, eds., Esther H. Klotz, Harry W. Lawton, and Joan H. Hall, p. 22; Patterson Colony, pp. 140-143; Robinson, The Story of Riverside County, pp. 24-25. For an opposing opinion as to the identity of the person responsible for the planting of the first navels see, Minnie Tibbets Mills, "Luther Calvin Tibbets: Founder of the Navel Orange Industry of California," Historical Society of Southern

California Quarterly, 25(4) (December 1943), pp. 127-161. Mrs. Mills was the daughter of Luther Tibbets and his second wife. Eliza Tibbets was Luther's third wife; Luther, her third husband. There was apparently, a considerable amount of animosity between the two women. Mills described her stepmother as "a social climber . . . [who had] bettered herself by successively exchanging two perfectly good husbands, [had] lured a rich man away from his family and, . . . [had] a glorious time spending his money . . ." (p. 145).

32. Lawton, "Brief History," p. 9, 11; Starr, Inventing the Dream, pp. 140-141.

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